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## DARDANELLES STILL TIGHT SHUT

The allies are out of Gallipoli and so out of all the roads which lead to Constantinople by way of the Dardanelles. Destined for work which can count for more in other parts of the Near East, they are out of Gallipoli to a better purpose in the making of war and in the bringing of peace than could be served, under the circumstances, at the foot of the long gateway to the Golden Horn.

But neither the Turks nor the Austro-Germans have a clearer path than before from Constantinople to the Mediterranean and to the world beyond. Bottled up as tight as ever are they by the war fleets which hold the entrance to the straits and will not relax their grip of steel to the last day of the war.

It is to the credit of England and France, convinced as they are that the Gallipoli campaign was an error, that they have acknowledged that error and withdrawn their forces for use elsewhere.

It is never a mistake to so acknowledge an error of undertaking. The greater mistake would be to continue a hopeless fight.

## PROSPERITY VS. SPECULATION

The inevitable conflict between mere speculation and real business was illustrated the other day, when the United States Steel Corporation announced a 10 per cent increase in wages, affecting many thousands of its employees. Plainly enough, such a move could not be made by so carefully managed a corporation unless there were confidence that its present prosperity was destined to continue a long time. Wages change more slowly than prices; other commodities vary in cost from day to day; labor's cost is the last to be reduced in a period of general falling prices, and the last to be advanced in a time of rising prices. Its fluctuations are slight compared to changes in commodity quotations.

So the advance of 10 per cent in wages must have been testimony that the steel people anticipated a long period of good business. It might reasonably have been assumed that the speculative community would accept this as almost axiomatic. But instead of strengthening steel shares, the announcement was followed by a bearing development. The speculators calculated that if the corporation was to give so much more to labor, it could not pay it out in dividends.

This is the difference between speculative interest in a stock, and responsible managerial concern for the general advantage of a corporation. The management must consider everything. A liberal policy toward wage earners is the guaranty of stable labor conditions, the insurance against strikes. It is no longer possible for any great enterprise to be successfully conducted with a view only to dividends. That plan may succeed for a time; but in the end it will break down. The fact that the big corporation, long-visioned as its management has been, repeatedly proved itself, would grant so liberal a concession to its labor was the best possible proof of confidence in the future.

## CONTRABAND COTTON

In its frankly avowed plan to send cotton to Germany in ships owned by native-born American citizens and flying the American flag, the Texas Farmers' Union can purpose only to brew more international trouble for this country.

Cotton is on both the British and the German lists of contraband. Contraband is contraband, whatever its shipper, or any authority behind the shipper, may try to make of it.

Cotton being contraband, it will not, when destined for Germany, ever get past any British warship that intercepts it. Cotton being contraband, it would not, when destined for British ports, ever get past any German warship that could intercept it.

The shippers from the Southern States know this. The men in Congress who are constantly agitating this matter of contraband cotton know it. There isn't anybody of intelligence that doesn't know that contraband cannot be shipped without danger of being captured. There isn't anybody of the feeblest brain power in Congress that doesn't know that when a thing is contraband this Government cannot, unless it be by force of arms, compel a belligerent to forego its rights to intercept and divert such contraband if it has the sea power to catch and take the contraband.

When cotton shippers in the South and their representatives in Congress, therefore, try to foment such

an issue as this to no other possible purpose than to get the United States Government into an untenable position, they strikingly brand themselves as plotters against not only the interest but the dignity of the United States.

These elements some time ago became notorious as putting a higher value on a bale of cotton seized at sea, over which they get so wildly excited, than on the life of a human being taken at sea, something which has not disturbed them enough for them to make it known. But it will be a long day before they will ever succeed in getting the American nation to raise a serious issue over their proposition that when cotton is contraband it shall not be treated as contraband because it's their cotton.

## THE PRESIDENT ON SECOND TERMS

The New York World publishes a most interesting letter written by President Wilson on February 5, 1913—just about three months after his election and a month before his inauguration—on the question of a second term. The Baltimore platform had contained a one-term declaration, and Congress had before it a resolution looking to a constitutional amendment carrying that declaration into effect.

Mr. Wilson was appealed to for a statement of his own views, and the letter which he addressed in reply is said to have been shown to various Congressional leaders and to have been influential in side-tracking the one-term constitutional amendment. In this letter the President-elect indicated that he did not favor the single-term proposal. He insisted that this view did not reflect his personal ambition for a second election, but was based on the conviction that the power of the President for useful service would be greatly lessened if it were made certain that he could not succeed himself. "As things stand now," wrote Mr. Wilson, "the people might more likely be cheated than served by further limitations of the President's eligibility. His fighting power in their behalf would be immensely weakened. No one will fear a President except those whom he can make fear his election."

Experience has justified this observation. Four years is too long for the wrong man in the Presidency, too short for the right man engaged in efforts which he may not be able to conclude in that period.

So Mr. Wilson decided that, in the present state of the evolution of American institutions, it would be bad policy to limit a President to one term. The danger of permitting more than one term he conceived to lie in the possibility that political power would be used to force renomination and re-election. This possibility, he opined, could be avoided by proper laws; namely, a Presidential primary measure. "There ought never to be another Presidential nominating convention," wrote Mr. Wilson; and he declared that he thought it could be safely assumed that provision for this would be made within the next four years.

Publication of this letter, now three years old, suggests some curious reflections. In the letter, which was written to A. Mitchell Palmer, Mr. Wilson repeatedly insisted that he was under the necessity of complete frankness, even if his opinions should be unpopular. He was, seemingly, entirely frank; but it is to be observed that his frankness was written into a letter that remained unpublished for three years. Frankness with Mr. Palmer and the favored few who saw the letter is very different from frankness with the whole public. The effort for a one-term limitation was squelched, in rather a mysterious way; the real thing that squelched it is now apparent: the President-elect was opposed to it.

More than this, the efforts in behalf of abolishing national nominating conventions have not been made, as promised in this confidential letter of "absolute freedom and candor." When Mr. Wilson was a candidate, and for a brief time after he was elected, there was a widespread belief that his intention was—just as promised in this letter—to make it his business to pass legislation that would make real public opinion the arbiter of a President's renomination. He insisted in this letter, as he also did in utterances that reached the public, that conventions ought not to nominate the candidates; they ought only to make platforms and organize party machinery. The people should make the nominations. Political influence should not be employed; the President must not attempt to make himself a boss.

It is a queer muddle that this matter has got into. It is perfectly possible to agree with the President in the opinion that a single term would, in present conditions, rob the executive office of a large and important share of its power for useful leadership. It is also quite possible to applaud the vigorous pronouncement in favor of taking the nominating business out of control of the politi-

cal bosses, and giving it exclusively to the people.

But it seems a bit hard to understand why the complete frankness which Mr. Wilson professed, should not have marked his attitude toward the people. He frankly expressed these views to a few public men; not to the public. The procedure suggests that while protesting against the President trying to boss, he was most effectively bossing. Additional color is given to this uncomfortable theory, by the fact that, after giving pledge for Presidential primaries, no effort was made for them; rather, the gentleman with whom the President maintained his relations (in confidence) of complete candor and frankness, were diligently putting the kibosh on efforts for the Presidential primary, at a time when the public assumed that the President really meant to try to accomplish such legislation.

When the President wrote, three years ago, that "there ought never to be another Presidential nominating convention," he set down what was then the conviction of a large majority of the American people. The performance of the Republicans at Chicago had disgusted a large share of that party; while the performance at Baltimore, where a candidate was defeated after he had mustered a substantial majority of the nominating convention on a series of ballots, had similarly affected a great proportion of Democrats. The time was ripe and right for pressing the Presidential primary, and the President-elect was on record, in public and in private alike, as favoring it.

Doubtless the President will be renominated, unless he himself shall indicate his wish to retire, which nobody dreams he will do. But it must be said that his embarrassment about the one-term declaration of Baltimore will not be assuaged by the publication of this Palmer epistle. Probably the one-term issue in itself has very little effect on the public mind. The opponents of Roosevelt in 1912 expected that issue to hurt him; the vote that he polled, without party, organization, or anything except popular demand supporting him, suggests strongly that he could not have lost many votes by reason of a five third-term argument. The same was true of Grant; people who proclaimed against the third term were against Grant, not against the third term. They ran around in circles trying to scare people with third-term talk, as they also did in the case of Roosevelt in 1912. The anti-Grant people discovered that a third term was awfully dangerous; so did the anti-Roosevelt people. But the votes changed on that issue were mighty few.

Mr. Wilson would not have suffered particularly from repudiation of the one-term plank that was slipped into the Baltimore platform by Bryan. He may suffer a good deal from the strange lack of candor in dealing with this whole subject of renomination and primaries, that is now disclosed.

## OIL THE NEW POWER

Gasoline has gone sky high because oil has been soaring. Supply measured by demand, oil is for the time being scarce. California, with vast oil fields not yet scratched, is more or less dried up by Government rulings made with no understanding of the situation in that State. Not only does the oil not come out now because of those rulings, but it may never come out unless the Government does something to correct its mistake in that instance, for existing wells not now being pumped are in danger of being drowned out by subterranean water.

It is the business of, and it is a prime necessity for, the administrative and legislative branches of the Government to look well to the conservation of oil supplies; but the Government must have a care not to play the foolish and costly part of making oil needlessly dear; for in these days all the world is hot after oil and the fuel and power products of oil.

The British admiralty has announced that estimates for building all fighting ships must provide for the consumption of oil exclusively. In the Dardanelles the maneuvering of the colossal Queen Elizabeth, on which oil was the only fuel, proved that machinery controlling the mightiest boats can be run by oil as well as coal.

Our battleships built within recent years are fitted to burn oil either altogether or in part, and the decision has been made that hereafter those added to our navy shall be entirely oil-driven. The ones at present using oil for fuel would consume 25,000 tons a month if they were in active service. With such demands for its production growing apace the power of oil in world politics is bound to become immense.

Of the great naval powers the United States is the only one which has an ample supply of petroleum, and its future might seem to be well guarded, but not if the confidence of business men who have put their savings into the high speculative investment of sinking wells is destroyed.

## RESOLUTIONS BELIEGE WOMAN'S PEACE BODY

Special Committee Named to Pass on Papers Before They Are Presented.

Because of the many resolutions being offered at the sessions of the Woman's Peace Party at the Willard, Miss Jane Addams, chairman, today appointed a resolutions committee to receive and consider resolutions before they are presented. The committee consists of Miss Janet Richards, Mrs. A. Morris Carey of Baltimore, and Miss Ella J. Abel, of Chicago.

One of the first resolutions to be referred to the newly appointed committee was one offered by Mrs. Jessie Hardy Mackay, of this city, which provided: "That Congress, instead of providing for increased armament, shall appoint a joint committee to investigate and report on the causes of the war, and on the possibility of a more aggressive action by other nations toward the United States, and by the United States toward other nations, by reasons of antagonisms with respect to race, trade, national expansion, property holding, and other causes, and on the possibility of a more aggressive action by other nations toward the United States, and by the United States toward other nations, by reasons of antagonisms with respect to race, trade, national expansion, property holding, and other causes, and on the possibility of a more aggressive action by other nations toward the United States, and by the United States toward other nations, by reasons of antagonisms with respect to race, trade, 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